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example, they describe an adolescent girl as one whose breasts are beginning to grow. 561

The Kwoma class a person as an infant as long as he still suckles. He remains in this category from two to four years, depending upon various contingencies such as his health or the birth of a younger sibling.[9] The weaning period, the transition between infancy and childhood, lasts from one to two years. A Kwoma is usually somewhere between four and six years of age before he is established as a child. The childhood category for boys runs from the end of weaning to the first initiation into the age-grade cycle, which roughly coincides with pubescence. A girl enters adolescence with the ceremony that is held at first menstruation. The period of adolescence extends from the end of childhood to a ceremony in which the boy or the girl is cicatrized. This takes place at about sixteen or seventeen, usually just before marriage for the boy and just after marriage for the girl. All persons who have been cicatrized are classified as adults.[10]

In addition to the maturation hierarchy, there is a system of age grades. A boy is initiated into the first of the four grades at adolescence, and into each of the next higher grades at approximately five-year intervals thereafter. While he is a member of each grade, he is permitted to wear a type of hair ornament which symbolizes his position.

In addition to the categories based on kinship, locality, and age, the Kwoma divide themselves into a variety of groups for the purpose of carrying out economic activities. A brother and sister before they are married, or a husband and wife after marriage, constitute a team to extract sago flour. The households of two or more brothers, or of a father

[9] Although a mother is theoretically prohibited from indulging in sexual intercourse while she is still nursing an infant, not all mothers abide by this rule.

[10] The aged also form a group which properly belongs in the maturation hierarchy. They have been arbitrarily excluded from this study. Old age begins technically when a person has gone through the age-grade cycle first as an initiate and then as an initiator. This puts it at approximately fifty years.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 12]

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CHAPTER V

ADOLESCENCE

ADOLESCENCE[1] begins for the Kwoma boy with his initiation into the age-grade cycle, for the girl with a ceremony at the time of her first menstruation. Adolescence is a relatively short period, lasting from one to three years. It is a time of transition from the established habits of childhood to those of adulthood. The attainment of a maturing physique brings with it the necessity of learning to do many of the economic tasks which are not expected of a child, and the increase in the strength of the sex drive makes childhood sexual satisfactions no longer adequate, thus throwing the youth into new learning dilemmas. Next to the weaning period, adolescence is the most turbulent time in the life of a Kwoma individual, a period marked by the learning of many new habits and the facing of many new problems.

The rites which the Kwoma girl undergoes at the time of her first menstruation are a strictly feminine affair. The men know little about them, and do not pry. Male informants stated that, since men kept cult secrets from the women, it was only proper that the women should be permitted to keep their secrets from men. Women were silent about the rites.[2] For these reasons, I was only able to gather that the rite included a period of seclusion and that the initiates were given ornaments in which they paraded as a part of the ceremony.

A Kwoma boy is initiated into the age-grade cycle in an

[1] Gwiyap was the only adolescent boy of Rumblima hamlet. Mar was in a somewhat anomalous position between adolescence and adulthood. He had already received his keloids of manhood but was not yet married. Examples from his life have therefore been included both in this and the following chapter. There were five adolescent girls in the hamlet: Kwiya and Awa, in Mar's household; Gwanta and Famba, the daughters of Way; and Aya, the daughter of Waramus.

[2] Had it been possible to establish better rapport with women, more information concerning these rites and other aspects of female life could have been obtained.

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elaborate and protracted ceremony which takes place approximately once every five years. For this reason, a boy's initiation may not correspond exactly with his physiological pubescence. If he is within a year or two of pubescence when a ceremony is to be held, his father and paternal uncles tell him that he is big enough to join. They do not force him to enter at this time, but they make it clear to him that he will not have another chance for five years. Thus a courageous lad may undergo initiation before pubescence, while others may be too frightened to respond to the first call and may consequently not be initiated until some time after the onset of puberty.

The whole subtribe participates in the age-grade ceremony, and all the boys from every hamlet who answer the call go through the rite together. The initiates gather in the early afternoon and march to a stream at the foot of the ridge. Each initiate is then chosen by an unrelated man who has already completed the cycle, and who thereby becomes the boy's *ceremonial father*. This older man slashes the tongue and penis of his *ceremonial son*, and then rubs salt or ashes in the wounds. The blood is allowed to flow down the stream out of the territory. Following this, the initiates of the previous three grades are cut in the same way by their *ceremonial fathers*, each grade submitting separately and in order of age. The sponsors and the youngest grade of initiates then go to the house tamberan, leaving the three older grades behind at the stream. The men tell the women, who are waiting at the house tamberan dressed in grass skirts,[1] that the other initiates have been killed, whereupon the women wail. By this time it is late afternoon, and the initiates who are present dance until dark, when the other three grades appear bearing torches. They dance around the house tamberan until the torches have gone out, whereupon the women join in a dance which continues throughout the night. On this occasion ceremonial sexual license, within the limits of the incest taboos, is permitted to everyone but the youngest initiates. At dawn the women return to their homes to

[1] This is the only time that women wear clothes other than their net bags.

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cook and the men go to the bush. Here each *ceremonial father* gives his *son* an ornament which symbolizes the latter's grade. The youngest grade receives a bamboo phallocrypt and a plaited belt to hold it in place. The other grades receive decorative combs of increasing elaboration. In the afternoon the women gather again at the house tamberan with the food they have cooked, and the initiates parade in front of them wearing their ornaments. After the meal, a dance similar to the one of the previous night begins and continues throughout the night, again accompanied by sexual license. On the following morning all ceremonial debts are settled; young men pay their *maternal uncles* shell money for the privileges they have gained from the relationship, and young husbands the bride-price which they owe their wives' relatives.

Following this prolonged rite, the youngest grade goes into seclusion in a small house erected near the house tamberan. They must avoid being seen by women for about two months. Food is brought to them by men, and they must wear the phallocrypt whenever they leave the house. The boys engage in hunting competitions during this time, but otherwise do not perform any economic tasks. A small ceremony marks the end of the seclusion period, when each boy puts his phallocrypt over a growing bamboo shoot, which in time splits the ornament and is supposed to symbolize and induce magically the growth of the lad's penis.

The ceremonial scraping of penis and tongue is related to the childhood custom of penis scraping performed by boys in private. Not only the act but also the stated purpose is the same. The Kwoma explanation for the ceremony is that it is to promote growth in the boys—"to help them grow up," as Kis explained to me. The splitting of the phallocrypt thus really symbolizes the purpose of the rite. Although the private rite of childhood produces no change in status, the age-grade rite does result in a marked advance in social position. After it, a boy becomes an adolescent and gains the privileges and immunities which Kwoma culture grants to persons in this category.

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882 602 578 *sister's son* (i.e., between those with the fewest intervening relatives), the privilege of cutting sago properly belonged to War and not to Gwiyap. War commanded Gwiyap to stop cutting sago on Payap's plot, and also demanded that he pay for the flour that he had already taken. Gwiyap protested, but War threatened to break their relationship unless the damages were paid. Gwiyap decided that it would be dangerous to have as important a man as War against him, so he paid the fine and broke his relationship with Payap.[34] Had Gwiyap enjoyed a status equal to or higher than that of War,[35] he might have disputed the case with him. Under such circumstances he would have broken with War and maintained relationship with Payap until the matter was settled.

882 608 381 628 Both the age-grade and adulthood ceremonies bring a boy into "safe"[36] relationships with persons outside the hamlet who are not actually related to him. The person who initiates him into the age-grade cycle becomes his *ceremonial father*, and he becomes his sponsor's *ceremonial son*.[37] Henceforth they behave toward one another just as though they were relatives. Aggression is restricted between them. They may visit one another without fear of sorcery, and they are expected to support one another in disputes. As in the case of relatives, they may break relations with one another, but as long as the relationship remains "safe," it has the distinct advantage of expanding the number and geographic distribution of persons who need not be feared. As with the

[34] This breaking of relationship between Gwiyap and Payap was not an aggressive act, but simply meant that both he and War could not have a relationship with the same *mother's brother*. Gwiyap showed some resentment against Payap for allowing him to make the mistake and thus forcing him to pay damages to War. Actually Gwiyap lost nothing by the transaction because the obligation to pay Payap at the age-grade ceremony was now nullified.

[35] Gwiyap was an adolescent, whereas War was a middle-aged man of high standing in the community.

[36] A *safe* relationship is the converse of a broken relationship. The Kwoma term for this is *ma kieñ jiju*, literally "man good goes."

[37] *Ceremonial father* and *son* are of different sibs; hence they necessarily live in different hamlets.

[614] [621]

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If he dislikes a girl who makes advances to him, he may turn her down, but even this is dangerous, for if he antagonizes her too much, she may claim that he attempted to rape her. If he dislikes a betrothed girl who is already living with him, he may express his aggression by scolding her and by criticizing her behind her back, but if he harms her, he is in jeopardy of retaliation from her relatives.

Foreigners constitute a final category of persons whom an adolescent boy fears. He continues to avoid them as he did during childhood. On the other hand, he is now eligible to go on a head-hunting raid and thus has the opportunity to react aggressively toward them. Since head-hunting is primarily an adult occupation, however, its description, including examples of the reactions of adolescents, will be postponed.

An adolescent girl reacts to pain and danger in a manner frequently similar to, but often different from, that of a boy. Both sexes react similarly to the natural environment. While girls do not participate in hunting, they are not loath to kill a snake or lizard which gets in their way. Toward insects, noxious flora, sorcery,[41] and ghosts, their behavior is also quite comparable. On the other hand, whereas boys are initiated into the cult and thus learn a special type of behavior toward *marsalai*, girls do not undergo such an initiation. In fact, they must avoid the house tamberan during ceremonies, like children, and are supposed to believe that the sounds of gongs and flutes are the voices of the *marsalai*. Nevertheless, adolescent girls have a fairly good idea of what causes the sounds. I once purchased several wooden figures which represented *marsalai*, and was told to hide them carefully, for if a child or a female saw one it would cause their death. One afternoon Kar visited me with his two nieces. Seeing the figures under the bed he pulled them out to examine them, apparently oblivious of the presence of his nieces. The two girls sat watching the proceedings and whispering to one another about the objects.

[41] Girls do not participate directly in anti-sorcery behavior, but they are as vociferous in their verbal aggression against putative sorcerers as are boys, if not more so.

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602 A man calls his mother's *brother's* daughter by the *mother* [601] term. Her behavior toward him is supposed to be "motherly." She cooks for him if he visits the hamlet in which she lives, and behaves as kindly as she can toward him. All the persons whom I observed in this reciprocal relationship were warm and friendly, but contacts were not frequent.

A man has but little contact with his *father's sister*, since she marries out of his hamlet. When they do meet, however, the man theoretically behaves toward her as he does toward his *father*. Actually, the relationship is friendly.

572 A Kwoma's *friends* are of considerable importance to him.
608 It will be remembered that this pseudo-kin relationship is
• [881] established with the young men whose blood is mixed with his at the time of initiation into adulthood. A man's *friends*, usually three in number, are always members of another sib and unrelated to him by any true kinship ties, but after he has established blood bonds with them he treats them as though [574] they were real relatives. He may eat at their house or invite [754] them to eat at his, without fear that they will steal sorcery material from him. He supports them at court meetings, and in return they stand by him against those who threaten or accuse him; they may even take his side if he has a dispute with their own relatives.[45] He is supposed to steal sorcery materials from members of his own hamlet if he is requested to do so by a *friend*, and he may ask the same favor in return. A man calls his *friends'* parents *father* and *mother*, their sisters *sister*, and their children *children* and behaves toward them as he does toward such relatives; incest taboos [765] apply to their close female relatives. When he dies, various of his bones are inherited by his friends or their heirs to [764] symbolize the close bond between them. No economic cooperation is expected between these blood brothers; the relationship functions primarily in the defensive-aggressive sphere and is closely integrated with the sorcery complex.

608 Every Kwoma has two other pseudo-kin relatives, a *cere-*

[45] A man is theoretically supposed to support his *friend* in preference to anyone outside his immediate family. I am not sure whether he does this in practice.

412 The stone adze is the most all-important tool and is usually carried
[482] about over the shoulder wherever a man may go. Other tools are a hafted
hardwood pestle for crushing sago pith, pig's tooth scrapers and engraver,
323 bird bone needle, bamboo knife, coconut shell dipper, etc. Pottery is made
286 by the coiled method without kick. Net bags are made from bark string. There is
285 no basketry. A rectangular engraved wooden shield or an oval pigskin
714 shield is used in war. A pointed bamboo spear is used for hunting both
411 heads and pigs, the cassowary bone dagger for a hand to hand struggle.

291 Clothing for both sexes is nil. Ornaments consist of feathered plumes,
301 bamboo combs, nose plugs of dogs teeth or bamboo, shell necklaces, and
plaited leg and arm bands.

304 Both sexes have their ear lobes pierced but not extended, and the
septum pierced. The alae of men are usually pierced in addition. Both
sexes are cicitrized with a bamboo knife, the men have two half moons
cut just above each nipple, the women a circular design around the navel.
[881] (Boys are initiated into manhood by having their tongues and penises slashed.)

836 The only restriction to premarital sexual intercourse is that it is
584 carried on as a sort of intrigue unknown to the parents. The girl takes the
initiative in this as she does in the proposal of marriage. (This does
not include infant betrothal which takes place in only part of the marriages).

848 In the case of an illegitimate birth, the child is adopted or killed. One
847 There is
845 of twins or a monstrosity meets the same fate.../bride price, patrilocal
583 marriage, patrilineal decent, polygyny.
591
611 There is a cult of all adult men, whose esoteria are carved and painted
595 figures, the blowing of sacred flutes and the beating of gongs. There are
794 two progressive stages to this cult. The first step of these is either
[532] iniiema or yenema; half the youths being introduced into one, and half into
[531] the other, placement being determined partly by patrilineal inheritance and